S N 592 593 over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of their parents when the latter reach old age.

S N 595 Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly religious person will not exceed four wives.

S N 779 829 Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

A. Family Organization

S 121 592 In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S 592 563 Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has

S 595 563 more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peasants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as

S [562] [152] such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S 563 [162] [587] Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or poverty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

563 585 musicians' presence is as important as that of the religious representatives, since music continuously accompanies the festivities. Money is given to beggars, the fees of the mullas are paid, and food is placed in front of the musicians. The marriage ceremony is not very complicated. The mulla says a few prayers over the bride and groom and pronounced them man and wife. After the ceremony the bride is led to the house of her husband. The bride's [152] leaving her family is accompanied by the wailing of her mother, who is supposed to exhibit great sorrow at her daughter's departure. The daughter is supposed to respond likewise. When reaching the house of her husband, she is to resist entering the house, and it is up to her husband and his relatives to lift her over the threshhold into the house. The wedding festivities can go on for days, after which the young couple also is obliged to give a party for those who were invited to celebrate their wedding.

563 585 885 Once a woman is married, she belongs to her husband's family, even if he dies. Her full social stature is only reached after she is thirty. Her husband then gives a party to celebrate her becoming a jawan (a mature woman). She is now entitled to privileges and social position which were barred to her as a very young woman; she is also worth more on the marriage market.

563 586 In many cases, these very early marriages are failures and soon are dissolved. The husband has no difficulty in getting a divorce from his wife. He can conclude a divorce suit against his wife, in front of the qazi (a Moslem judge), without her being present. The fees for divorce are very little. The wife, although not as free to petition for a divorce as her husband, can request a divorce in six cases: if her husband beat her, having no serious reason for doing so, and her body still retains the signs as evidence; if, without consulting her, he took another wife; if he had stopped supporting her for six months; if, without her consent, he has taken her away from her regular place of residence for more than three days; or if he becomes insane or a leper.

The wife can, in this case, assemble her personal belongings and go back to her parents. The husband then proceeds to give her full freedom by repudiating her. The demands that the woman [580] puts on him are very few--he is to support her for a hundred days, after which she is free to remarry. The husband has no such restrictions about remarriage; he can remarry on the same day on which he secured a divorce.

Alimony is the main issue in divorce cases. When the wife initiates divorce proceedings the husband may refuse to pay alimony, and the wife may even have to give him a substantial sum of money to induce him to let her go. His final consent always is necessary for a divorce to become valid, otherwise, the separation would not be considered a legal divorce. The matter of the children is settled by both parents, but the father really decides

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque
are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some
bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
[152] mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs
are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are
given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family.
The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr,
a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this
settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed
except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawan-chi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than ~~to take~~ a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539]

"Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather